2: Stirling--2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
M6, 103, 171

"There are, however, certain fairly stable large geographic groupings which appear to feel a certain unity, and to which general group names have been attached. The Jivaros proper are those which dwell in the basins of the Zamora and Upano Rivers and on the upper Pastaza. The Antipas live on the right bank of the Santiago from the Zamora to the Alto Marañon. The Aguarunas live on the right bank of the Marañon between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers. The Huambisas occupy the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers, including all of the territory west to the left bank of the Santiago, from the Cordillera of Cutucu to the Marañon. The Achuales occupy the territory between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers from Lake Puralina north to Andoas.

The Jivaros scattered over this vast territory of approximately 25,000 square miles are of similar appearance physically; they speak a single language and their customs, beliefs, and material culture are closely interrelated. With this, however, their unity ends. The scores of small independent groups, living for the most part on the headwaters of the tributary streams, are constantly at war, one group with another."

22: Hamy--388 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 103, 175

"The Jivaro north of the river, located in consequence in the republic of Ecuador, are very much more numerous. Villavicencio speaks of 13 or 14 tribes which he calls the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, the Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, the Pindos, the Agapicos, the Achuales, etc. But several of these groups of Indians are sections of tribes, rather than the tribes themselves. They take their names from the rivers on whose banks they live or from the designations imposed by the Spaniards. And that explains why the list of Villavicencio, incomplete as it is..., added to that of Mateo Paz Soldan, surpasses the number formerly assigned by Velasco to the Jivaro dialects.... Whatever they are, the Santiagos, the Zamoras, the Gualaquisas, the Pautes, the Logroños, are grouped in the neighborhood of water courses which run into and form the Santiago river. The Moronas, the Upanos, the Conambis, the Pindos, the Catapasas, the Chirapas, occupy the bassin of the Morona river. The other Jivaro are scattered in the basin of the Pastassa, along this river and its affluents."

26: Brüning--52 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 361, 103

It is the rule that a settlement consists of only one house. Two houses, as I had seen them, for instance, in S. Antonio, are rarely found together. The various houses form, however, larger or smaller groups, separated from each other by forest and yet connected with each other by narrow footpaths. One such group has a definite name.

26: Brüning--54 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 574, 103

I paid my first visit to two houses, close together in S. Antonio on the Muchingis River. The name S. Antonio was given to this settlement in honor of its Curaca Antonio by one of the most important rubber collectors, who lived in Nazaret, which is some 800 meters distant from the mouth of the Muchingis River. I do not know how the Indians themselves call "S. Antonio." I regard this random changing of place names a great nuisance. The same rubber collector had in most instances given new names to almost all the Indian settlements along the upper Marañón, and he had chosen the names from the names of his own family and had prefixed them with a San. This is also customary in other regions of Peru. You will not find the name of the Muchingis River on any map or elsewhere. This river is called Imaza or Chuchunga on Raimondi's map (number seven). Another of its names is Chiriaco, which means: Cold Water. I prefer the name Muchingis since, as the very same rubber collector informed me, it is used by the Indians who live along its banks.

31: Danielsson--86 [2]
116, 622, 103

(1946-48) 1949

Jivaro

"There is no permanent chief for the different geographical groups. (Each cluster of houses is named after the rivulets where they are situated, as for instance the Patucas, the Yurupazas, the Yaupis.) The family head is the highest authority and his power is limited to the members of his house. Only in time of war are chiefs appointed for larger units, but their power is provisional and confined to the war-period only."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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The Jivaro proper (eastern branch of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed. A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[2]

The emphasis here will be on previously new data collected in 1956-57,[3] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935, Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro groups.[4]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Jupa; the Rio Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusuimi; the Rio Mangosiza, and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bayo on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were *Wakaimpit*, *Tsukimpit*, *Uwit Akaia*, *Kagalit*, and *Tuna Akaia* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Waka* of the upper Rio Macuma, and *Hinia* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Wampit*, *Tapi*, and *Nasta*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' statements were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[illegible] of footnotes, see [illegible]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

MAP 2
Distribution of the Jívaro, or western Jivaro, north of the Río Zamora in 1956-57

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

The interior Jivaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jivaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of irregular size. The interior Jivaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the stream *entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jivaro on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, e.g., *nieuá huará* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jivaro household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group is the *kayaim huará* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *untsuri huará* (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who speak his dialect, in other words, the Jivaro tribe, but even its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the haziness of definition of community and an absence of unilineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete social unit visible in Jivaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jivaro households are very close-knit economic and social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants, is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one